

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 112338
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:TNILES
APPROVED BY IO/SA:TBROWN
S/S:FWISNER

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P 030221Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 0000

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 112338

EXDIS CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY GENEVA FOR MAYNES AND BARRY

FOL RPT USUN NEW YOR 1736 SENT ACTION SECSTATE DTD 01 MAY 78

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 01736

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, WA, SF, AO

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH ANGOLAN

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FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE

REF: USUN 1732

SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING DRAFT SUMMARY OF THE
SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION OF NAMIBIA WITH ANGOLAN FOREIGN
MINISTER JORGE AND PARTY APRIL 30 IS TRANSMITTED FOR THE

REVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT AND FURTHER DISTRIBUTION AS DESIRED. END SUMMARY.

1. SECRETARY VANCE INVITED ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE TO DISCUSS THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION APRIL 30 IN NEW YORK. JORGE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ANGOLAN UN PERMREP FIGUEIREDO AND MOFA POLITICAL DIRECTOR OLGA LIMA. AMBASSADORS YOUNG AND MCHENRY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP AND POLMIN PETREE ALSO PARTICIPATED. THE DISCUSSION LASTED OVER AN HOUR.

2. THE SECRETARY OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY REMARKING THAT THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM IS AT A WATERSHED. WE HAVE A CHANCE TO MOVE THE PROBLEM FORWARD TOWARD SETTLEMENT, AND IT WILL BE A TRAGEDY IF WE DO NOT SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY. THE U.S. IS COMMITTED TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE EFFORT. HE STRESSED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUCCESS IN THIS INITIATIVE IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL TERMS AND THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF FAILURE. HE ASKED JORGE HOW HE THOUGHT WE COULD GET OVER THIS LAST HURDLE TO AGREEMENT.

3. JORGE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE INVITATION TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON NAMIBIA AND SPOKE OF ANGOLA'S COMMITMENT TO THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA AND THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO FIGHT FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE. HE ALSO
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EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN FIVE, WHICH HAVE PRODUCED POSITIVE STEPS FORWARD IN NAMIBIA. HE RECALLED HIS PREVIOUS MEETING IN LUANDA WITH MCHENRY. HE SAID SOME ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL CONCERN HIM AND REQUIRE CLARIFICATION.

4. CONCERNING WALVIS BAY, JORGE SAID NAMIBIA IS ENTITLED TO IT. THERE IS A DANGER THAT IF SETTLEMENT OF THE WALVIS BAY QUESTION IS POSTPONED UNTIL LATER, IT WILL BECOME AN INSTRUMENT OF PRESSURE OR BLACKMAIL AGAINST NAMIBIA. HE SEES NO SURE GUARANTEE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD RELINQUISH ITS CONTROL OVER WALVIS BAY IN A POST-INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATION. HE FEARED ITS POTENTIAL USE AS AN ECONOMIC WEAPON.

5. ON SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS, JORGE OBSERVED THAT SWAPO HAS ALREADY ACCEPTED THE FIGURE OF 1,500 RESIDUAL SA TROOPS DURING THE TRANSITION PROCESS, SO ANGOLA HAS NO COMMENT ON THAT POINT. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SWAPO IS INSISTING THAT THE SA TROOPS MUST BE CONFINED IN SOUTHERN NAMIBIA RATHER THAN THE NORTH. ANGOLA HAS STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE USE OF GROOT-

FONTEIN, AS OUTLINED IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, BECAUSE THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE HAVE LONG BEEN "BETRAYED" BY ACTIONS LAUNCHED BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS FROM GROOTFONTEIN. CONCERNING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, ANGOLA HAS NO COMMENTS, AND WOULD SUPPORT ANY SWAPO DECISION.

6. JORGE TURNED TO U.S. CONCERNS ABOUT THE PRESENCE IN ANGOLA OF CUBANS. HE COMMENTED THAT ONE'S VIEW DEPENDS ON WHO IS THE AGGRESSOR AND WHO IS THE AGGRESSED. HE SAID ANGOLA HAS NO DESIGNS ON NAMIBIA, AND THERE WILL BE NO INFILTRATION SOUTHWARD FROM ANGOLA INTO NAMIBIA.

7. JORGE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE COUNCIL
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FOR NAMIBIA, WHICH IS NOT CONSIDERED IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST CLARIFY THE MANDATE TO BE GIVEN THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AS WELL AS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIM AND THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL APPOINTED BY SOUTH AFRICA.

8. JORGE CONCLUDED HIS INITIAL REMARKS BY URGING THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE WESTERN FIVE TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT. IT WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE FOR THEM TO STOP NOW, SAYING THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE FINISHED. HE SAID THE FIVE CAN PRESS THE SOUTH AFRICANS FOR MUCH MORE. HE CALLED FOR "COORDINATED EFFORTS" TO FIND A FINAL SOLUTION.

9. SECRETARY VANCE RESPONDED, TOUCHING ON ALL OF THE MAJOR POINTS MENTIONED BY JORGE TO PROVIDE OUR POSITION AND PERSPECTIVE. HE CONCLUDED THAT ALL OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED ARE COVERED ADEQUATELY IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AND SHOULD POSE NO MAJOR OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT, EXCEPT FOR THE KEY QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY. JORGE, REFERRING TO THE IMPLICIT NEGATIVE VETO HELD BY THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, ASKED WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA HAD ACCEPTED THE NOTION OF VETO. THE SECRETARY SAID IT HAD, THOUGH NOT THE WORD.

10. CONCERNING THE POWERS OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, MCHENRY SUGGESTED THAT WE MAY NOT HAVE MADE ADEQUATELY CLEAR TO ALL CONCERNED THE PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THE NAMIBIA OPERATION WOULD BE LAUNCHED. THERE ARE LIKELY TO BE AT LEAST TWO SC RESOLUTIONS, ONE ASKING THE SYG TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE AND REPORT BACK TO THE COUNCIL AND ANOTHER PROVIDING THE SYG A MANDATE FOR TROOPS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN. THE SYG'S REPORT ITSELF
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WILL BE DRAFTED BY THE UN, NOT EITHER OF THE PARTIES OR THE GROUP OF FIVE, SO ITS LANGUAGE NEED NOT BE TIED BY THE NEGOTIATING PACKAGE PRECISELY. WHILE THE FIVE HAVE HAD TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT LANGUAGE IN THE INTERESTS OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT, THE SYG'S STUDIES AND REPORTS WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO THESE SAME RESTRAINTS. ALSO, SWAPO WILL BE FREE TO ISSUE ITS OWN INTERPRETIVE STATEMENTS, JUST AS SOUTH AFRICA HAS DONE.

11. MCHENRY SAID THE PROBLEM OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT ONE FROM THE BEGINNING. THE POSITIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UN HAVE BEEN UNRECONCILABLE. THE FIVE HAVE TRIED TO BRIDGE THAT GAP THROUGH COMMISSIONER AHTISAARI'S POSITION. IT GAVE US A WAY TO GAIN COUNCIL PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS IN PRACTICE WITHOUT TROUBLESOME WORDS OR INSTITUTIONALIZATION.

12. JORGE ASKED THE SECRETARY HIS VIEWS ON THE TEN POINTS SUMMARIZED AS MATTERS OF CONCERN AT THE END OF NUJOMA'S APRIL 28 GA STATEMENT. SECRETARY VANCE SAID ONLY TWO OF THEM APPEARED TO OFFER SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, WALVIS BAY AND THE LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD GONE OVER THE TROOP ISSUE WITH NUJOMA AND BELIEVED THIS SHOULD NO LONGER BE A BASIC STICKING POINT. IF THE EFFORT FAILS ON AN ISSUE OF THIS KIND, IT WILL RAISE A QUESTION OF THE GOOD FAITH OF SWAPO. MCHENRY COMMENTED THAT NUJOMA'S INABILITY TO SAY PUBLICLY THAT ONLY TWO POINTS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED IS FRUSTRATING.

13. AMBASSADOR YOUNG COMMENTED THAT WE DO NOT YET KNOW WHAT NUJOMA'S REAL PROBLEM IS. HE RECALLED THAT IN LUSAKA NUJOMA HAD TOLD YOUNG THAT A U.S. STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY WOULD BE SATISFACTORY AND LATER THAT SAME NIGHT HE HAD CHANGED HIS MIND. IN DAR HE AGREED ON A FORMULATION WITH THE SECRETARY AND THEN AGAIN PULLED BACK.
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NUJOMA SEEMS TROUBLED BY CONSIDERATIONS OTHER THAN THE PROBLEMS WITH THE PROPOSAL, AND WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT THOSE CONSIDERATIONS ARE.

14. JORGE RESPONDED ABRUPTLY BY SAYING HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO ADD. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HEARING THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SECRETARY AND SAID ANGOLA IS

ANXIOUS TO SOLVE THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. A SOLUTION OBVIOUSLY WOULD HELP ANGOLA. ANGOLA HAS NO EXPANSIONIST IDEAS AND REALLY WANTS ONLY TO FIND A WAY TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY FOR THEMSELVES. A SOLUTION WOULD NEUTRALIZE TENSIONS IN THE SOUTHERN BORDER REGION AND MAKE THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TASK EASIER.

15. HE WENT ON TO REFER TO ANGOLA'S CHOICE OF A SOCIALIST PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT, WHICH OF COURSE MAKES SOME THINK ANGOLA IS DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIET UNION. HE ASSERTED THAT ANGOLA IS COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT; THEY DID NOT FIGHT COLONIAL DOMINATION TO BE SUBJECTED TO ANOTHER, HARDER DOMINATION. YET, HE SAID, THERE HAS BEEN NO INITIATIVE FROM THE U.S. TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ANGOLA.

16. THE SECRETARY SPOKE OF THE RELATIONS THE U.S. MAINTAINS WITH MANY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND SAID IDEOLOGY IS NOT AN OBSTACLE PER SE. HE SAID HE PERSONALLY HOPES OUR RELATIONS CAN CHANGE AND SUGGESTED THAT A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA MIGHT MAKE A START. IN RESPONSE TO A POINT MADE BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG ABOUT INTERNAL POLITICAL RECONCILIATION WITHIN ANGOLA, JORGE DELIVERED A LENGTHY HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MPLA, FLNA AND UNITA AND ANGOLA'S UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE
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AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THESE OLD CONFLICTS.
YOUNG UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, WALVIS BAY, POLITICAL CONCESSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE112338
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: TNILES
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780187-0973
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780597/aaaadenx.tel
Line Count: 258
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: 4a2a23a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 USUN NEW YORK 1732
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2802698
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH ANGOLAN CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, WA, SF, AO, US, UNSC, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (JORGE, PAULO TEIXEIRA)
To: BONN DAR ES SALAAM MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4a2a23a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014